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**MOZAMBIQUE**  
**REVOLUTION**



<b>EDITORIAL</b>	
the war enters a new phase . . . . .	1
<b>FINISH MONDLANE'S TASK . . . . .</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>EDUCATION IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE</b>	
report on tete's first pilot school . . . . .	4
<b>WAR COMMUNIQUE</b>	
advancing on all fronts . . . . .	8
<b>THE STRUGGLE IN CABO DELGADO</b>	
by Cabo Delgado's military commander . . . . .	11
<b>POEM. . . . .</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>THE FOURTH FRONT</b>	
action in mozambique, angola and guiné-bissau, . . . and now in portugal . . . . .	14
<b>THE COTTON REGIME . . . . .</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>JOSINA ABIATAR MACHEL . . . . .</b>	<b>24</b>

**MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION**

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# the struggle enters a new phase

The directives recently sent by FRELIMO to its militants in the region of Tete south of the Zambezi included three fundamental points: (a) to intensify the mobilisation of the people; (b) to consolidate the political and military structures of FRELIMO; and (c) to begin guerrilla operations. The mobilisation of the people and the establishment of those structures most necessary to the struggle has been going on over an extended period, of course; the task envisaged was merely one of intensifying and reinforcing such initiatives. What was new in the directives was the order to start the armed struggle in that region; and this move to carry the fighting in Tete south of the Zambezi is of very profound importance.

Indeed it could even be considered a decisive step in the extension of the armed struggle to the whole of the national territory. Several times the Portuguese have seemed to draw lines on the map in Northern Mozambique (e.g. Messalo River, Nacala - Madimba), hoping at worst, for stalemate and the placing of a quarantine upon the Mozambique Revolution. Each time such hopeful imaginings have proven to be futile. Thus, in the end, the Portuguese were driven to consider the great natural barrier of the Zambezi river, lined as it is with forts for its entire length, their most unassailable, their ultimate, perimeter of defence; now this «Maginot line» has been breached in its turn. Nothing could demonstrate more dramatically the national character of our struggle, nor the impossibility of the task which confronts the Portuguese.

Thus we are in the process of establishing our control over the entire province of Tete and there can be no doubt that the geographic location of the Province makes its control of fundamental strategic significance to our advance. However this is also a step which in certain other ways makes our struggle more difficult for Tete remains, strategically, equally important to the enemy and likely to attract his most sustained defensive efforts.

One major reason for the enemy's great interest in Tete is, of course, the presence of Cahora Bassa in that province. The extension of our struggle there affects that project in two ways: through direct physical attack and through the cutting off of means of communication and supply lines to the construction area. Yet, as is well known, this is a scheme of vital importance to the continuing existence of colonialism, settlerdom and imperialism in Southern Africa; we can easily foresee a reinforcement of Portuguese military power in Mozambique specifically directed against our forces operating south of the Zambezi. And what better pretext for the entry into action of those South African troops already stationed close to the dam site in Tete; thus a moment of significant escalation in the Southern African struggle may be approaching.

The likelihood of such an escalation seems even greater when one considers that, in its southern part, Tete has common borders with Rhodesia. The very fact of a guerrilla war being waged in Mozambique in territory adjacent to their borders will be considered by the white racists of Salisbury as a threat to their regimes; here too pretexts (so-called border incidents) can be found for more direct assistance by the Smith gang to their Portuguese allies. In a precisely parallel manner the South Africa threat must be considered a serious one in this context as well. Although the logistic conditions for the armed struggle for national liberation do not exist as yet in the south of Mozambique, the South African fascists are well aware that it is merely a matter of time before the zones bordering South Africa will be affected by the fires of war. They will do anything to prevent this from happening. Already South Africa and Rhodesia are deeply implicated in the colonial war in Mozam-



bique. It requires little imagination to forecast that their military and economic support to Portugal will be increased. In this regard the recent meeting of the heads of the secret political police of the three countries can be interpreted as a straw in the wind, but FRELIMO and our supporters abroad must be quick to draw other evidence of the further cementing of this unholy alliance to world attention.

Another dimension of the intensification of the struggle in Tete must also be underscored; this is an area in which international imperialism finds itself most deeply engaged and it cannot well afford to stand idly by while our struggle develops to a new stage. There is every likelihood that, sensing an ever more viable threat to its fundamental interests it will intensify its support to Portugal — either through NATO or through bi-lateral terms. (Next June, NATO is going to meet in Portugal.) This is one more reason for vigilance. But there are also opportunities here which must not be lost, contradictions which must be exploited to the full. For actions in the area of Cahora Bassa is now a very real threat to individuals, companies and governments who are participating in that project. The whole scheme - and those participating in it - will be targets for our fighters. Death, loss of property, will ensue. No responsibility for this can be attributed to us; it lies with those who by participation encourage and consolidate Portuguese colonialism. This may merely intensify imperialist intransigence as noted. But it is worth remarking a recent shift in Portuguese rhetoric; where once they spoke of majestic vistas and equally majestic profits as a bait for western capitalist support, now Kaulza de Arriaga affirm that Cahora Bassa will be built «whatever the cost». This is not a calculation likely to appeal to hard-headed capitalist firms or governments; in such a context they well may be moved to reconsider their balance sheets — and their political commitments.

Finally, while we may admit coolly that there are difficulties inherent in our very successes, we must affirm that we are fully prepared to face all the difficulties which can be foreseen. Unquestionably, we are stronger than ever and this is a strength which derives from many factors: we are determined; we are united by conscious adherence to one revolutionary ideology; we are obtaining every day, greater understanding and greater support from the progressive forces throughout the world. Armed struggle in Tete south of the Zambezi is an important step, and with each step we are closer to our goal.



Ready for action: a FRELIMO Artillery unit

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# FINISH MONDLANE'S TASK



The 3rd of February, 1971, second anniversary of the death of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, was commemorated at all bases and in all villages of free Mozambique. The fighters and the people, in various ceremonies, evoked the memory of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, the late President of FRELIMO, and paid homage to him.

On that day, 3rd February, 1971, the newly elected President of FRELIMO, comrade Samora Machel, was in a village in Tete Province. A big public meeting was organised by the local leaders, at which representatives of the army, the militia units, the schools, the women and the local committee, spoke. Each one stressed a particular aspect of the work of our late President — his role in structuring our armed forces, his understanding of the need for a genuine people's struggle, his efforts to realise the spread of education, his role in the emancipation of Mozambican women, and the like. There followed traditional dances by students from the schools, and by the dance groups of the village. As part of the celebrations, an ox was killed, roasted and its meat shared among the participants. Finally comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, addressed the people and the fighters. Here we quote two particularly relevant excerpts from the speech which he delivered on that occasion:

«This day, the 3rd of February, reminds us of the day when our comrade, President Mondlane, was assassinated. But what is of primary importance now is the meaning of that death, and what we must do to fill the vacuum it has left. When remembering the death of our first president, we must relate it to our liberation struggle and take it as a new starting point in our noble task. Indeed, we must take an oath, an oath regarding the task that comrade Mondlane started but had not the time to finish. Let us swear that we shall finish that task begun by comrade Mondlane, which is the liberation of our country.

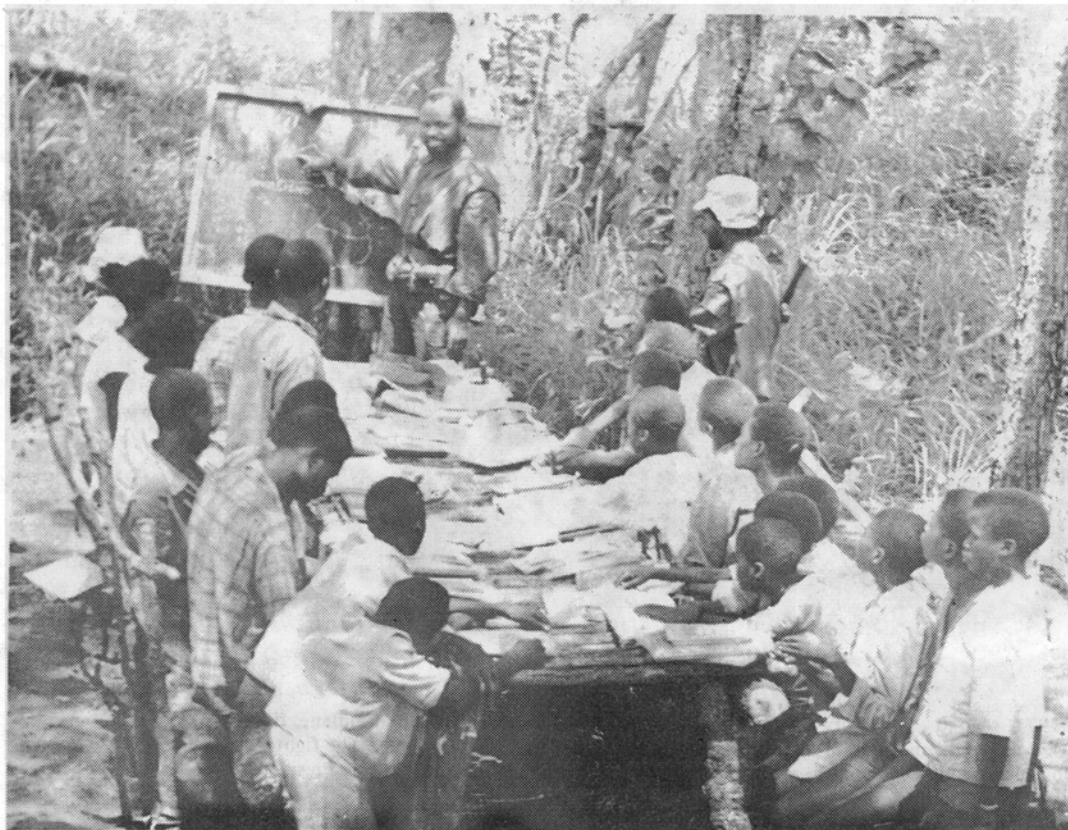
Comrade Samora further said: «One of comrade Mondlane's greatest achievements was the establishment of unity among our people. But unity is an abstract word — is it not possible to see in practice manifestation of that unity? Even

here, in this place, among ourselves? Yes, it is possible. For example, the present political commissar of this Province came from Inhambane. This comrade, responsible for sabotage operations, came from Manica e Sofala. This fighter who is here defending your shambas came from Gaza. This teacher who teaches your children came from Cabo Delgado, but he is happy to be here because this is also part of his country, Mozambique. There are here among us fighters from all provinces of Mozambique. They left their parents and their brothers far away, and came to live with you, because, being Mozambicans, you are also their parents and their brothers. This is a concrete manifestation of our unity, a unity could not even be dreamed of in colonial times. Comrade Mondlane has already done this — what we continue to do is to reinforce this unity, and extend it to the whole of Mozambique. . . »



# EDUCATION IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

## REPORT ON TETE'S FIRST PILOT SCHOOL



*THE education programme in Tete Province is developing at a vigorous pace. There are already 16 schools with several thousand students being taken through the various stages of primary schooling. And now a pilot school whose function is to direct and coordinate the work of all others in the sector has been set up.*

The FRELIMO Pilot School in Tete is located in K. . . , on a hill in the middle of thick bush. The spreading branches of high trees cover the whole area of the school, hiding it from enemy airplanes. A small tributary of the River Capoché runs about 20 metres from the students' houses. The huts of the students and teachers, the kitchen, dining hall, bathrooms, infirmary and store-house form a unit which is about 200 metres away from the classrooms. And about half an hour's march from the school are the shambas whose produce feeds the 30 people of the school. Four sentry posts of vantage points around the edge of the area are manned to warn students and teachers of any attack.

Comrade Roque Vicente, head of the pilot school, and himself an active teacher, talks about the daily life and the problems of his staff and his students:

«This school was inaugurated five months ago, on November 11, 1970. At present we have four teachers and 24 pupils. So far we teach only second and third classes. There are 10 students in the Second class and 14 in the Third.

For the school every day begins at 4.30 a.m., before the sun is up. Then follows manual work, or sport from 5 – 6 , except for one group of students, who spend this hour out on patrol looking for any signs of enemy infiltration. From 6 to 7 is cleaning hour – not only for personal hygiene; they clean their huts and the whole school. In exceptional cases they have breakfast at 7 a.m. At 7.15 they prepare for the classes, and at 7.30 classes begin, and go on for five hours, until 12.30. At 12.30 everybody has lunch, followed by free time until 14.30. After the break, jobs are allocated for the after-

noon – usually manual work on the land, or on building and maintenance work on the huts and shelters. At 5 p.m. everybody washes up, and dinner is at 6 p.m. They are free until 7 p.m. Then from 7 until 9.15 is time for 'homework and lesson preparation' for the next day.

At 9.15, after an almost 17-hour day, the students go to their huts to sleep. At 9.30 it is silence time.

The teachers' day follows almost the same basic pattern since they have to be with the pupils in all these activities. But the teachers' responsibilities are obviously wider – they are the ones who have to work out solutions to all the problems. They must ensure that there is enough food, and that standards of health are maintained. They have to plan the next day's work, and organise talks for the students related to the daily programme.

Our school syllabus caters for two classes. In the second class the subjects are: Portuguese, Mathematics, Geography, Science, Politics and Drawing. In the third class the subjects are: Portuguese, Mathematics, History, Geography, Science, Drawing, Basic principles of teaching (pedagogy), and Politics.

In our political classes we teach what FRELIMO is, why we are fighting, the aims of our struggle, and the status, programme and organs of FRELIMO. We define who the enemy is and what the characteristics of the struggle are. The accent is on its revolutionary, popular and protracted nature, and on the role of the student in the revolution, why he is here and what FRELIMO expects of him during his stay at the centre and afterwards. Students must also learn what a pilot centre should be, relations of the centre with the people, the kind of education we aim at, and its differences from colonial education.

How do we relate to the other FRELIMO schools in the area? This centre co-ordinates the work of the different schools in the sector. It receives and studies reports, extracts from them the positive aspects, and formulates directives. It furnishes

books, pencils, and other material (when there is any!) It helps to solve the daily problems of the schools, organises examinations as well as tests to make sure that the proper programmes are being followed. Comrades have to be recruited and prepared as teachers for other schools — and this we also do. We work out programmes for the other schools. With them we study problems such as security and food supply. And we organise seminars in which representatives of all the schools in the sector take part. These seminars are important in reviewing progress and problems and in planning for the future.

The last seminar was held from December 26 to January 16, 1971. The following points were discussed, among others:

- a) the general educational work of the sector — successes, failures, their causes, new programmes;

- b) the pedagogic knowledge of the teachers — how to teach, how to follow and keep to the syllabus, how to plan examinations and so on;

- c) Political and military education for teachers and students.

We found that the greatest difficulty is that many teachers are not capable of following the programmes properly. Their

level of knowledge is not high enough. Another problem: some schools were closed due to famine last year because of drought which posed the problem of food in the whole province. In some zones the pupils had to return to their parents' homes because there was no food in the school.

But we found also that successes in the field of education by far overtook these weaknesses. For example, we already have opportunities to open many more schools as soon as the teachers finish their preparation. This year, on the other hand, food production was intensified, although the shortage of seeds continues. In this pilot centre we have ten students in second class who should all pass to third class judging by their present progress. In certain boarding schools we have more than 100 students.

All the students are from this province. But we had to bring the teachers from other provinces; two are from Manica e Sofala, one from Cabo Delgado and one from Zambezia.

Agriculture — learning how to use the land to produce food — is very much part of the education programme. Everyone at the school takes part every day in the cultivation of the fields. The centre has

#### HEAD OF THE SCHOOL

«My name is Roque Vicente, I am 23 years old, I was born in Nangololo, District of Mueda, Cabo Delgado Province. My parents are peasants. I went to school at the Catholic Mission of Nangololo where I finished primary education in 1960. As there was no secondary school for Africans in the whole province, I was forced to enter the seminary of Mariri where I did three years. In 1964, I was expelled from the seminary, accused of being part of a group of students connected with subversive activities. After my expulsion I joined FRELIMO. I have been teaching in the FRELIMO schools of Bagamoyo and Tunduru. In 1970 I was sent to the interior of my country to the Province of Tete where I am teaching in the Pilot Centre of this Province.

Portuguese colonialist oppression against the people in my Region, mass arrests to fill the PIDE pri-

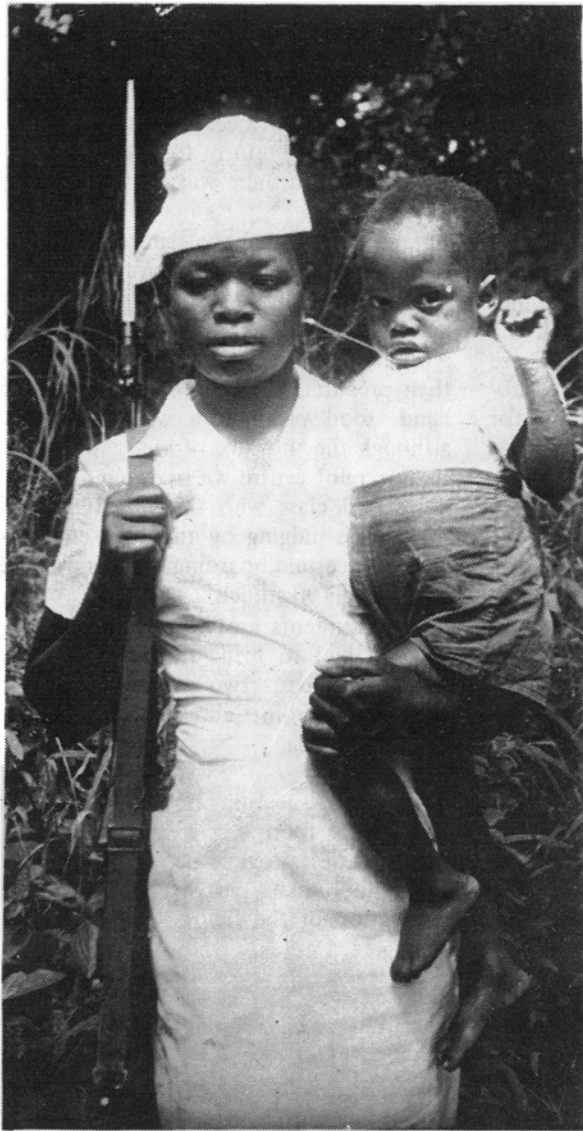


Comrade Roque Vicente (right) tells his story

sons, terrorist acts by the Portuguese troops, people without education through lack of schools — it was this which compelled me to join the liberation struggle and fight in order to end all kinds of exploitation and oppression in my country. That is why I am here in Tete, and I am happy to be here, it is exactly the same as being in Cabo Delgado or

in any other Province because it is part of one and the same Mozambique. That is also what we teach our comrades in the school — for them to know our country, to know that Tete is part of Mozambique as is Niassa Cabo Delgado, Zambezia. . . . Because only thus will we be able to take the liberation struggle to the whole country.





#### MARIA NJANJE, Student : The Woman's Role

When I was 17 years old my parents forced me to marry. This is the custom here — women marry very young. I would prefer to study rather than to marry, but as I did not see any possibility of being able to continue studying, and as tradition is very strong, I married. I have a son. When FRELIMO arrived, my husband joined the guerrillas. He is a FRELIMO fighter. I showed a willingness to study and so FRELIMO placed me in a school. Before that I was in a FRELIMO base — as I had the first class, I taught the comrades at the base how to read and write. In my class I had 141 students. Then after that I studied second class and at the end of last year I was transferred to here, to the Pilot School where I am studying third class.

I am very happy to have come to FRELIMO. First of all because I can study — that was always my dream. With the colonialists only those who have money can study. Here everybody who wants to study is allowed to do so. Another difference I notice is that the Portuguese teachers were not interested in explaining to anyone who did not understand something; while here our teachers make every effort to ensure that we understand everything. The Portuguese troops, when they arrive in a village, steal chickens, pigs, cattle, from the people. The guerrillas never take anything from the people. When the Portuguese soldiers find girls on the roads they violate them. In FRELIMO we women are very much respected — and this impresses our sisters who come from the enemy zone, as I did. We are accustomed to something quite different. Under the colonialists, when a man in uniform appeared, it usually meant ill-treatment. We are so surprised at first when we see the guerrillas treating us as sisters, not as objects of pleasure.

The problem of participation of women in our education programmes is serious in this province. We must change the traditions which force us to marry when we are very young. I myself am engaged in a campaign aimed at the families in this region to explain to them the need to change this custom: it is harmful to us and to the Revolution.

three big shambas, two of maize and one of ground nuts. We are now going to introduce cassava and sweet potatoes — crops traditionally unknown in this province. Within their programme the students also go periodically to help the villagers in different jobs, such as agriculture, house building and cleaning. The people, in their turn, help the school. They give them food, lend hoes, axes and pangas. Shortly we are going to organise a programme to exchange experience and skills with the local people. The people will teach the students things like making mats, pottery and other handicrafts. And the students will teach them how to read and write.

The military situation is normal. Since the centre was created, it has not yet been attacked, but we are always on the alert and the students receive military training. In the morning a group of students go on

reconnaissance. During class time the soldiers from the nearest base do sentry duties for us.

We have a dispensary which serves the centre and the neighbouring population. It is open to students early in the morning from 6 — 7 a.m. and in the afternoons from 4 — 6 p.m. The rest of the day it serves the villagers. Near the centre, about one hour away on foot, there is a hospital specially for the people, but students needing special treatment can go there as well. The most serious problem is lack of medicines. Frequent sicknesses are colds, malaria, bronchitis, skin diseases and dental decay.

Among the gravest difficulties we face is lack of school material. We need exercise books, slates, pencils, blackboards and textbooks. Textbooks, especially, are a rarity. In most of the schools, only

the teachers have them. And it is very difficult for a student to learn if he has no books through which to orientate himself. So it is hard for a teacher to be strict when the student face such difficulties. Other shortages make hardships: we lack clothes, soap, blankets, food, kitchen equipment and agricultural tools. Sometimes it is the material we capture which saves us. Some weeks ago we received several bales of cloth and 17 slates captured from the enemy by the comrades of a military base in this sector.

When it comes to recruiting students, we have difficulties in some regions. Traditionally the children must take care of the cattle, so that many parents refuse to let their children go to school. They must stay and watch the herds, parents insist. We are undertaking intensive political work in order to make the parents understand the advantages and the necessity of sending their children to the school. But

we have to do it in stages. For example, if the father refuses to understand and he has, let us say, three children, we try to convince him to let two children go to school while one stays to take care of the cattle. Or we tell him that his child can go to school in the morning and in the afternoon he can carry on his normal duties. Or else we suggest that certain periods after the harvesting, when there is no danger of the cattle damaging the shambas and thus no need for a cowherd, the children should be allowed to go to school.

In general we can say that we have achieved success in convincing the parents to send their children to school.

Another problem is the participation of women. In this province girls traditionally marry very young, sometimes when they are 10 years old — and that is just the age when they should go to school. And when this happens, of course, the husbands do not allow them to go and study. We have launched a big campaign aimed at the parents and now many of them understand that they should not permit their daughters to marry so young. Since the Revolution started, this kind of marriage has diminished very much. And the proof of our success can be seen by the attendance of girls in our schools — in five schools we have more girls than boys. But this does not happen everywhere, women's participation in schools is still a problem.

#### A REAL CHANCE TO LEARN — José Jeque, Student.

I attended the second class in Chiuta in 1958, but was compelled to abandon school because the Portuguese forced me to pay personal tax. So I went to Moatize to work as a servant. I was very ill-treated, I received 125 escudos per month. I gathered the necessary money to pay the tax — 175 escudos, then I went home where I stayed until 1963 working in the shambas. In 1963 I went to Tete where I got a job helping in the maintenance of bulldozers. I was there one year, then the company moved to Lourenço Marques and I was again unemployed. I returned home. In 1966 I got a job in Beira in the stores of the railway station. I earned very little, I was alone — but even so I endured it for four years. In 1970 I returned home.. When I arrived there was war in my area. The Portuguese had killed many people. My family had been arrested: the colonialists had accused my mother of having given food to the guerrillas and they arrested the whole family.

In a single day 12 people — 12 women — had been killed in my village. They had gone to cultivate the fields and

they had taken maize flour to eat during the day. By noon they went to a nearby well in order to use the water to cook. When they were near the well they met the Portuguese troops. The Portuguese commander asked them where they were taking the flour. They answered, «we are going to cook for us to eat». That Portuguese then answered, «what you are going to do is to take that to the terrorists. . . you collaborate with them. . . I am going to teach you a lesson». He shot off several rounds of his machine gun and killed all the 12 women. Their bodies remained abandoned near the well.

When I heard this I decided to run away before the Portuguese found me: I entered the bush and went to a FRELIMO base. I was there teaching first class (I had 109 students), before coming to this Pilot School where I am now doing third class.

Of course I am very happy that I came to FRELIMO. I am only doing third class although I am 28 years old, but this is one of the consequences of colonialism. Our struggle will enable our children to have better conditions.



FRELIMO is giving the oppressed people of Mozambique their first real chance to learn. José Jeque (arrowed) is proud to join this line up of students during a visit by FRELIMO President, Comrade Samora Machel.



# advances on all fronts

Following the directives of last year's Central Committee meeting FRELIMO activities have been focussed upon three main objectives:

- The consolidation of the liberated zones;
- the intensification of political mobilisation and organisation of the people in the zones still under the control of the Portuguese colonialists;
- the carrying of the armed confrontation into new zones.

Thus the activities of national reconstruction are developing in a more and more organised way in the liberated areas. Unlike last year when there was a severe drought, this year's abundant rains enable us to forecast rich harvests. More schools are being opened in all three Provinces; the only difficulty is lack of teachers; but already a number of them are being readied in our teacher's training centres. And our medical centres are also increasing in number, though this too makes shortages — particularly of medicines — more acute.

But FRELIMO militants have been equally active in mobilising the people and taking FRELIMO's orders of the day into all

parts of Mozambique. So effective has this been done, in fact, that the Portuguese colonialists felt compelled to react with an intensification of repression. During the months of June — August in the Provinces of Lourenco Marques and Gaza in Southern Mozambique alone, about 1400 Mozambicans were arrested by PIDE (the Portuguese Secret Police), accused of belonging to FRELIMO. At the central prison of Machava, located at 10 kms. from the city of Lourenco Marques, 18 Mozambican nationalists were killed by the colonialists, after being brutally tortured, accused of being the ringleaders of a movement of agitation and mobilisation of FRELIMO among the prison's 3000 political prisoners. Some of the murdered patriots were FRELIMO leaders such as Joel Monteiro Guduane, who had been arrested in 1964 and sentenced to five years imprisonment, precisely for being a FRELIMO leader, Sidonio Bila, and others. Despite the colonialist repression, our work in the enemy zones proceeds with great success, the entire people respond enthusiastically to FRELIMO's message.

Finally, these efforts culminate in the advance of the armed struggle into new zones, an advance made in accordance with the drawn-up plans.

# from the military front

## Communique No. 1/71

Total results in the 3 Provinces:  
358 Portuguese soldiers killed,  
more than 43 cars, 5 caterpillars  
and 4 tractors blown up, 9 posts  
attacked and 4 bridges and 2  
trains destroyed.

During the months of November and December, 1970, FRELIMO guerrillas in action in the Province in Tete, launched 18 major ambushes, 27 sabotage operations in the zones of Vila Gamito, Furan-  
cungo, Cussalala, Chiuta, Chicoco, Fingoe, Chicoa, Cachombo, Chintiri, Malewera, Mkanya, Nhamadende, Chalimbana, Chituzze, Canhenda and Jale. We attacked the posts of Mtawa (on the 7 November), Chide (9 November), Manje (9 November) Chiringa — 25 kms. from Cahora Bassa (25 November), Canhama (21 December) and a military camp on the road Tete — Catipu (28 December). In the course of these actions 173 enemy soldiers were killed, 24 cars, 5 caterpillars and 4 tractors were destroyed, and 3 bridges were blown up — over river Chigumukile (21 November), Duangue (28 November), and Muambazi (29 November).

In the Western Region of Niassa Province during the same period (November — December), our ambushes and sabotage operations resulted in the death of 37 enemy soldiers and several vehicles wiped out. The bridge over the river Lualachi on the road between Maniamba and Nova Coimbra was blown up on the 4th December. Two trains were attacked; one near the station of Cheuti, on the 5th November when on its way from Vila Cabral to Nampula. The locomotive was totally destroyed. Another was on the railway Catur — Nova Guarda on the 31st December; the locomotive and two wagons were blown up and many soldiers in them were killed or wounded. One shop which supplied the local Portuguese troops, in Bagaliha, was attacked and damaged on the 1st of November.

In the Province of Cabo Delgado during the period between 9th November 1970

and 18 January, 1971, FRELIMO fighters launched 24 major ambushes and 16 sabotage operations. We attacked three posts: Neguri (on 25 November), Chitolo (on 6 January) and Muidumbe (18 January). The toll in this Province was 148 enemy soldiers killed and 19 vehicles and 3 posts destroyed.

## Communique No. 2/71

During the period between 21 December, 1970 and 6 February, 1971 (partial report) FRELIMO guerrillas in action in Tete Province attacked four posts (Ncumbura, Chide, Catondo and Cachulu) destroyed 6 vehicles and 1 bridge over the River Namadzi, and killed 43 Portuguese soldiers.

Details of the operations are as follows:

21 December, 1970. A FRELIMO unit ambushed an enemy convoy on the road between Mague and Chicoa in the region of Chief Gossa, area of Nhantsitsi. One lorry was destroyed, 10 Portuguese soldiers were killed.

24 December. FRELIMO guerrillas attacked the post of Ncumbura

killing 13 Portuguese soldiers and causing important material damage namely destruction of two houses of the post (including the secretariat) and one bus.

26 December. One lorry was destroyed by a mine on the road Casula to Capilissongwe, in the region of Gulumba, some Portuguese soldiers were killed.

6 January, 1971. A group coming from the enemy headquarters of Mudzi who were attempting to enter our zone was ambushed and suffered 6 casualties.

7 January. A convoy going from Vila Gamito to Kassalala fell on our mines. One of the lorries was completely destroyed.

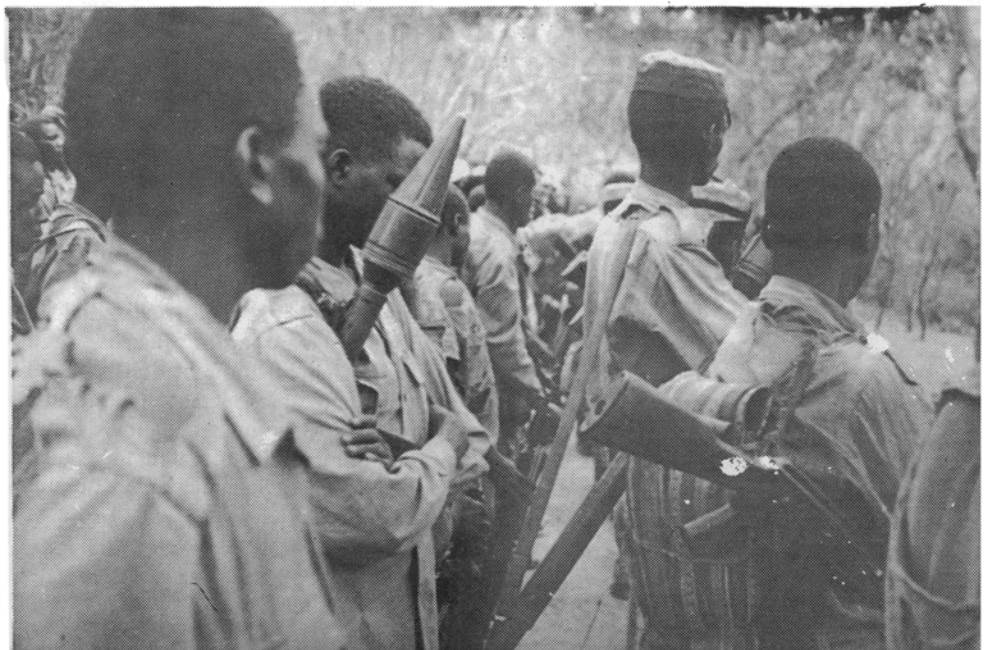
7 January. We attacked the post of Chide in Chipindi. During the attack most of the enemy soldiers fled to the bush. Our fighters captured weapons, ammunition, uniforms, civilian clothes and bales of cloth.

11 January. We attacked the post of Catondo which was defended by group of 44 Portuguese soldiers. The post was badly damaged and the enemy suffered heavy losses.

14 January. A FRELIMO sabotage unit destroyed the bridge over River Namadzi on the road between Furan-  
cungo and Angonia. The bridge was made of metal girders and cement.

3 February. Seven enemy soldiers were killed and one car destroyed in an ambush carried out by FRELIMO guerrillas on the road between Manje and Mpimbi, in the region of Cambambe.

6 February. The post of Cachulu was attacked resulting in the destruction of two houses and many of the enemy killed.





# THE STRUGGLE IN CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

*by Comrade CANDIDO MONDLANE, military commander of Cabo Delgado*

In global terms we can say that the struggle in Cabo Delgado is more developed than in any other Province. We have forced the enemy to abandon many of their posts and strategic hamlets, for example, Lunho, Lussoma, Sipaki, Mutamba dos Macondes, Chadimba, Namakoma, Abyemwaly, Namuguisa, Namunda, Darumba, Nankunda, Neguri, Nankunamia, Nankadoli, Imbuho, Muatide and many others. We have cut off many roads such as from Sikalanga - Mutamba dos Macondes - Nangade, Muidumbe - Ntandola, Muidumbe - Chai, Kinyantati - Messalo - Chai, Chai - Koveke, Macomia - Lunho, etc. Our people there have attained a very high level of political consciousness. We have consolidated our work of national reconstruction — production, education, health services, cottage industries and commerce. Take health for example in this Province we have one central hospital and 11 district hospitals, 56 mobile first aide centres, 15 nurses and about 300 medical aides.

We believe this was one of the reasons why the Portuguese made Cabo Delgado the main target of their offensive last year. They thought that, if they succeeded in reoccupying our zones and end the guerrilla activities in this Province, it would be a strong blow to our fighters and our people in all provinces, and would allow them to easily regain control of the 2 other provinces where we are fighting.

Another reason that led Kaulza de Arriaga, the Portuguese Military Commander of Mozambique to concentrate his attack on Cabo Delgado was that he had received certain information that the conditions were favourable for an action of that kind.

In fact, a few months before the offensive, a few traitors deserted from our forces and surrendered to the enemy. The Portuguese used them for several purposes, namely, to provide information and to guide them to our bases. The traitors did just that. Only, the information they gave was not correct because they did not know our real situation. For example, they said that there was great confusion within FRELIMO, that the leaders were fighting against each other, the expulsion of Simango was an example of that, and that the disunity at the level of leadership was felt among the fighters, who were completely demoralised. They told the Portuguese also that we had a big problem of lack of weapons, that most of the guerrillas had no ammunition. They informed them further that the difficulties of the war had demoralised the population — the lack of clothing, the bombings, lack of food in certain zones — and that the people were being forced by the guerrillas to stay in the bush: as soon as they had the slightest chance they would run away to Tanzania or give themselves up to the Portuguese authorities.

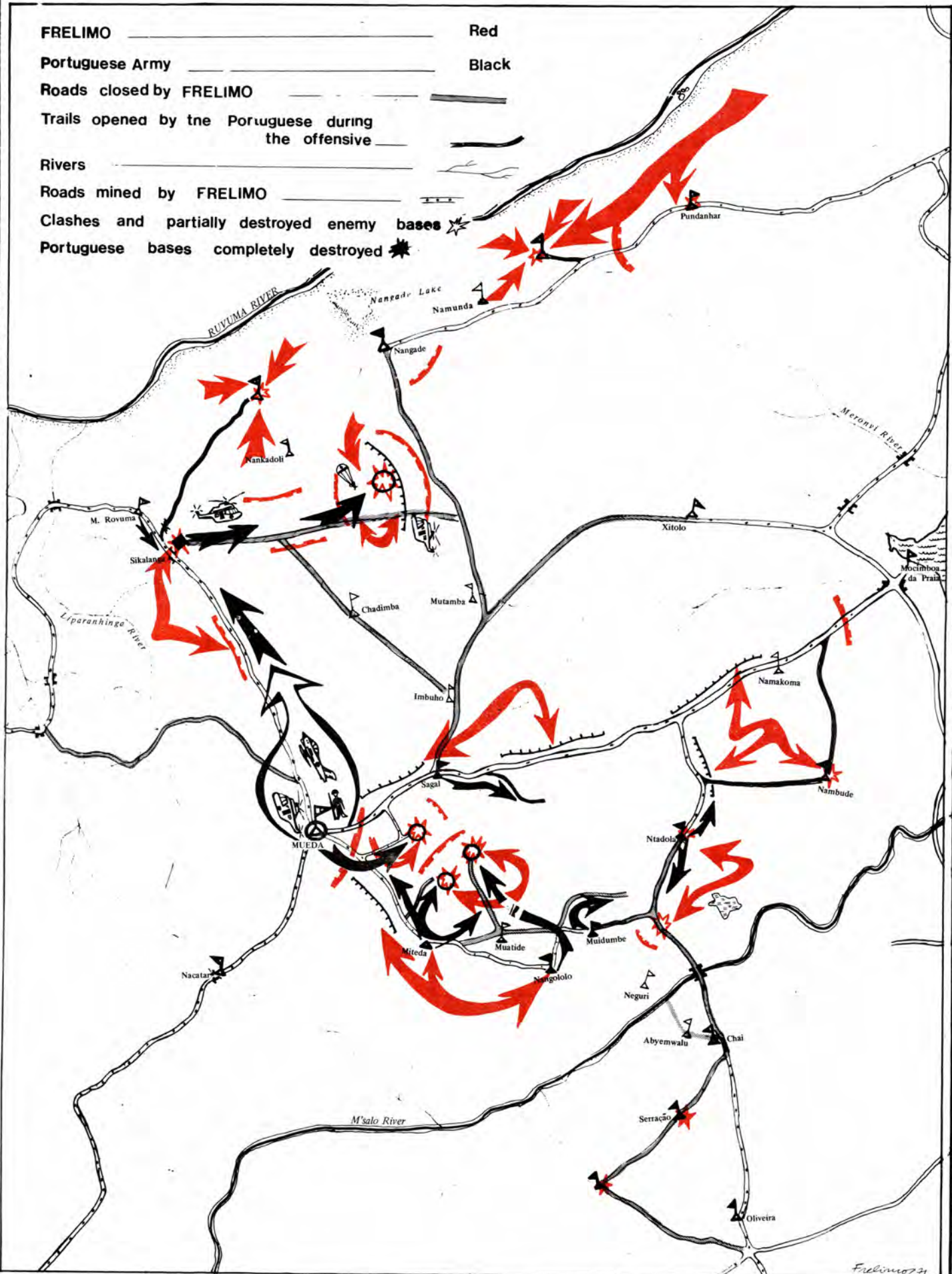
Kaulza believed this and convinced himself that, in fact, the moment was opportune for a large-scale offensive. Thus in May, Kaulza launched his offensive. The first phase of the attack was directed against the first sector. Why the first sector, our rear guard? Because the Portuguese General thought that that would be the zone of the greatest contradictions. He must have imagined that as that zone was completely liberated there must be a relation of vigilance and discipline and fighting spirit.

In this first sector the enemy attacks centred mainly around Mueda. Kaulza started by concentrating his troops (transported by helicopters) in an area between Mocimboa do Rovuma and Mueda, and established a small mobile command post there, to facilitate infiltration in the area of our Beira base. At the same time Portuguese forces were using bulldozers to open a trail leading to our base. For one week before the assault the Portuguese bombed the area intensively. On 10 June, 1970, hundreds of Portuguese soldiers were disembarked from 8 helicopters constantly flying backwards and forwards under the protection of jet fighters. They covered the whole region around the Beira base. On 12 June they launched a major attack on the base — but they did not find anything. It was a complete failure for them: our fighters had already abandoned the base and our equipment is never kept there. The Portuguese soldiers limited themselves to burning the huts. This is the attack referred to in a letter we found amongst equipment we captured on 19 July, 1970, when the writer, a Portuguese soldier says «dear sister. . . the paratroopers made an attack against the Beira base. . . in that attack 32 of our soldiers were killed. . .»

After that they started moving towards our other base of Limpopo. As we knew of their plans, we ambushed them on their way.

Moreover, along the whole distance they covered between the two bases, they were constantly attacked by our forces. We were following their movements from very near. Several times we attacked their mobile post putting them to route.

**FRELIMO** \_\_\_\_\_ **Red**  
**Portuguese Army** \_\_\_\_\_ **Black**  
**Roads closed by FRELIMO** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Trails opened by the Portuguese during the offensive** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Rivers** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Roads mined by FRELIMO** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Clashes and partially destroyed enemy bases** ★  
**Portuguese bases completely destroyed** ★





Later on we kept finding pangas, grenades, ammunition, magazines, that they had abandoned in their haste to get away. After each attack they would regroup, but each time less and less. Presently a section of their forces is entrenched in the zone of Nangade. It is difficult to dislodge them as they have fortified themselves there and mined the surrounding area. But we have them encircled and they cannot move. Their presence in that place is merely symbolic, and their objective is mainly propaganda.

After their defeat in the first sector, the enemy attacked the second sector on 20 June, 1970. The method was basically the same — intensive bombing for more than a week followed by the disembarkation of heliotransported troops protected by jet fighters and bombers. However, in the second sector the enemy concentrated on opening more roads and used more artillery. They attacked three bases — but as had happened with Beira and Limpopo, they found nothing and nobody: some time before our comrades had already evacuated the bases. In this second sector one of the apparent main objectives of the enemy was to destroy the food crops and silos. This was in order to create hunger amongst the people and force them to go and seek for food in the enemy zones. And, of course, they also attacked the villages.

The enemy attached particular importance to propaganda during this offensive. They dropped hundreds of thousands of leaflets, intensified their radio broadcasts, and used aircraft equipped with loudspeakers. These would fly over our zones and a traitor like Lazaro Kavandame, for example, would speak to the people and tell them that they should give themselves up to the Portuguese. He would tell them that that was the only way to put an end to their suffering; that the Portuguese were decided to end the war in that year as could be seen by the number of soldiers, cars, aircraft being used; that the only way to avoid being killed was to surrender. This propaganda work by planes, was done also at night.

How did we react to this offensive? The first thing we did was to mobilise the people. The enemy activities themselves had a mobilising effect on the people as well — the masses saw their freedom being threatened, all their work of several years at the risk of being destroyed. Thus the people prepared themselves for the fight. And when the enemy appeared, they

were encircled by the people together with the guerrillas. This proved in an absolute way that there were no contradictions between ourselves.

Our targets multiplied. When they opened more roads the enemy created more targets for us. When they brought more cars they enlarged the field of action of our sabotage units. When they concentrated in the bush, they made easier their own annihilation: we know the bush, and its easier for us to attack a group on the move than entrenched in a post. We took special measures against helicopters, which proved highly effective. The role of the people was fundamental, for example, in sabotaging the roads: when the Portuguese opened one trail, the people were right behind them laying mines so they could not go back. At the same time, imbued with the spirit of national reconstruction, the people, took advantage of the land cleared by the caterpillars and planted seeds there, right under the nose of the enemy. And today in fact parts of the roads the Portuguese were forced to abandon, became peoples' shambas.

The part played by the womens' detachment was also vital. They defended the people and left the guerrillas free to concentrate on direct attacks; they took care of the wounded and the sick; they mobilised the population making them understand the problems of the war and activated their fighting spirit.

During this period of the offensive some of our work was interrupted — classes in

some schools and the cultivation of some fields. We, therefore, organised a campaign amongst the students — the older ones participated in military activities and the transport of material whilst the the younger ones helped in the fields.

The offensive ended in November, with the expulsion of the Portuguese troops from our zones (with the exception of two places where they still are, but encircled and unable to move). One of the main results of the offensive was to enable us to advance further, to extend our advanced zones: in fact only the zones of the first and second sectors were attacked by the enemy. In order to launch this attack in our rearguard, the enemy had to withdraw large forces from the regions which correspond to our advance zones. Our progress was thus facilitated and we have reached far beyond the Montepuez River.

With the end of the offensive life returned to normal: production, schools and all other activities. It is exactly during the month of November that we plant new seeds in Mozambique. The children were regrouped into the pilot and normal schools. This year we are going to open one more pilot school in Cabo Delgado which will be the third in this province.

We expect new offensives from Arriaga. We are ready. This time we shall inflict much heavier blows on the Portuguese forces — we have experience now.



Guerrillas advancing into new zones

It is useless Caetano,  
It isn't worth it.

The seeds of division sown by your ancestors  
in our people over the centuries  
Wither today before the potent weapon of our unity. . .

You can send Kaulza  
to kill our determination.  
Kaulza — that combination of science and aggression  
whom you regard as super efficient.

You can consult generals, tank experts  
experienced in aggression against other peoples — our brothers —  
who have assumed, as we have,  
the noble task of fighting for freedom.

You can send your soldiers  
to encamp in our country;  
but here the force that will end our oppression  
is growing.

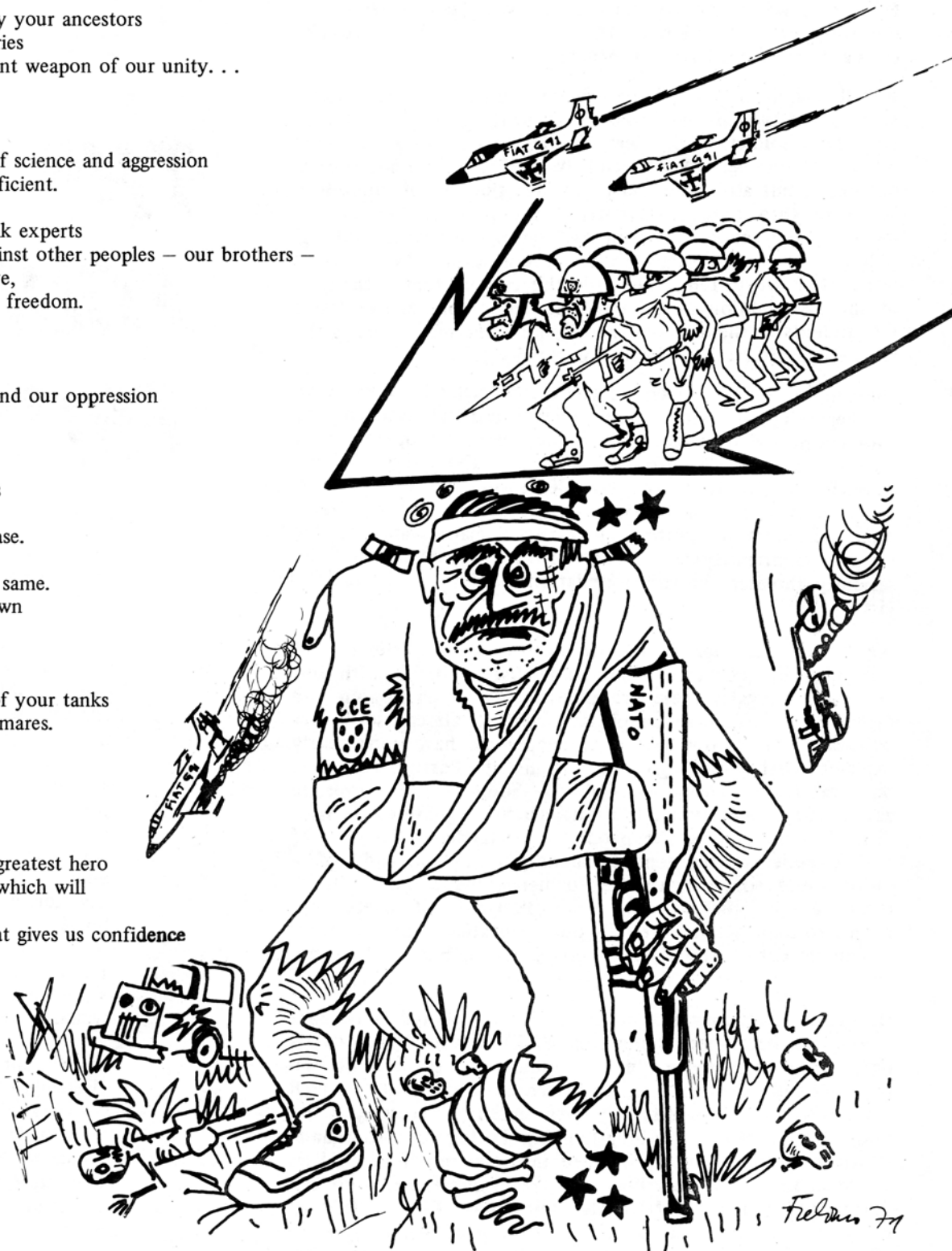
You can draw bloody plans  
you can launch big offensives  
with 30,000 mercenaries  
and jets bombing without cease.

The result will always be the same.  
You will see your armies drown  
in the sea of our people;  
you will bathe in the blood  
shed by your men;  
The roar of the destruction of your tanks  
will follow you in your nightmares.

It isn't worth it Caetano  
It is useless.

Our people are one.  
Our unity as defined by our greatest hero  
is the source of the strength which will  
end this continuing tyranny.  
It is the powerful weapon that gives us confidence  
To shout VENCEREMOS!

ESTÊVÃO FRANCO LUCAS





In an interview given in Lisbon on 14 March, 1971, to a reporter from the New York Times, the Military Commander of Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga, declared himself particularly disturbed by political developments within Portugal. This is not surprising for antagonism to the colonial wars is rapidly growing sabotage activities there have already begun to damage the Portuguese war machinery in important ways (as witnessed most recently, the destruction of 14 helicopters and 3 training aircraft at the airforce base at Tancos).

Equally significant, the Portuguese Minister of Defence expressed some weeks ago, his deep concern about the growing number of Portuguese soldiers who desert, refusing to serve in the colonial wars. The number is kept secret by the Portuguese authorities, of course, but already it must run into the tens of thousands. Moreover, throughout the country a wide-spread students' movement is taking shape, expressing itself through strikes and through public demonstrations against internal repression and the colonial wars. (It is worth remembering in this context that at the time of the assassination of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane in 1969, the students of the law faculty in Lisbon hung the picture of the late FRELIMO President in their university!).

Caetano and his henchmen are aware that such initiatives signal the beginning of genuine (and violent) domestic resistance to colonialism and the colonial war; they mark the opening of a fourth anti-colonialist front, this time in the interior of the colonial country itself and complementing the armed fronts which already exist in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné-Bissau. That the fronts are multiplying in such a manner and that the struggle is intensifying on each of them are realities which seriously threaten the very foundations of the colonial and fascist regime.

We express our appreciation for these concrete expressions of solidarity by Portuguese anti-colonialist militants with our liberation struggle; these are indeed acts which honour and dignify the Portuguese people as a whole. Of course, in our political work among our own people we have consistently explained that our struggle is not against the Portuguese people but against Portuguese colonialism. Sometimes, however, in zones where repression has been particularly severe, we have difficulties in making the people understand; on the basis of their experience they tend to identify repression and exploitation quite simply with the Portuguese white man. These recent anti-colonialist initiatives in Portugal will enable our people to understand more fully our orientation; that the enemy cannot be defined by their colour or origin, but by their activities.

In order to encourage further this anti-colonial movement among the Portuguese themselves, FRELIMO has begun to address messages to the Portuguese soldiers who serve in Mozambique directly inviting them to desert. This is a process which will show concrete results only over time; it is necessary to eat away at the effects of long-standing Portuguese propaganda which has, for example, instilled into the minds of soldiers mythical images of guerrillas who are cannibals and who will devour any soldier who falls into their hands. But the effort to do so has become an important dimension of our struggle; to illustrate this point we reproduce below one of the messages which has been designed in recent months to reach just such Portuguese soldiers through our radio programme, «A Voz da FRELIMO».

**ACTION IN MOZAMBIQUE,  
ANGOLA AND GUINÉ-B'  
... AND NOW IN PORTUGAL**

# ***THE FOURTH FRONT***

«Today's programme is directed towards the soldiers of Portugal, soldiers who have come from very far, from another continent, and who have invaded our land, killing our people, burning our fields, violating our sisters.

«Portuguese soldier, we want to tell you that what you are doing is wrong, is cruel is inhuman, is criminal. Consider... if we left our country in Africa and invaded your country in Europe, how would you feel? If we Mozambicans came and destroyed the fields which your parents and yourself had cultivated with so much devotion and care, if we burned your houses, if we pillaged your possessions, if we murdered your children, violated your mother, your wife, your sisters, if we installed ourselves as owners of your land — would you stand like a coward with your arms crossed? Would you meekly agree to be humiliated, beaten, robbed enchained without finally rising in revolt? No, you would not act like that. You would take up arms and fight against the invaders. Your ancestors did just that; when they were invaded by the Arabs, by the Spanish, by the French, they fought heroically to defend their independence and refused to submit to a foreign power. Yet that is precisely what we are doing. «Portuguese soldier, you fight against us because you have never considered what

you were doing. You were caught in the fields where you were cultivating your land. You were put in ships and disembarked in Mozambique. You were given a gun and told: go and fight the terrorists. And you went as a robot without thinking whether that war you were told to fight was just or unjust; without knowing why you were fighting, without asking against whom you were fighting. It is time for you to examine your conscience. You are a man as we are; you were not born a criminal. It is those who send you to the war who are turning you into a criminal. The Portuguese people, your people, are honest and hardworking, they are not murderers. We know this. Why then do you come and kill our people? All we want is to live in peace in our African country as owners of our land. We have that right. And it is precisely because that right is denied to us that we fight. We fight against you, Portuguese soldier because it is you who prevent peace and progress in our country. If it was not for you, if instead of being here fighting against us you were in your country cultivating your fields, we should not have to fight: There would be no war in our country and we would be able to build our homes in peace, to love our wives and children, to develop our wealth. But this will never be possible so long as you remain here with your guns aimed at us.

«And what do you fight for? You were told it was to defend your country, but your country is Portugal, — it is not Mozambique, not Angola nor Guiné. Each of these countries is a country different from yours, with a different people, with customs, traditions and history which are different. Have you ever seen any Mozambican, or Angolan or Guinean threatening your country — Portugal? No, you have not. The ones who threaten you are the PIDE, those who caught you, took you away from your work and brought you here to fight against our people. They invented that lie, that your country is threatened, in order to mobilise you, in order to justify the war, while in fact, the only reason that moves the leaders of your country to wage war upon us is their desire to retain the wealth which was stolen from us a long time ago. You may not know, Portuguese soldier, but Portugal is ruled by a handful of families who control all the riches — of Portugal and of the colonies. They own the banks, the big properties, the factories, the mines, the commerce. The rest, almost the entire Portuguese people, live in misery. We do not need to tell you this — you know

better than us. Peasants work in Portugal from sunrise to sundown and what they earn is not enough for them to buy bread. Families live in hovels, the children in rags and hungry; when someone gets sick there is no money for the doctor or for medicines. Yet these big capitalists live in the lap of luxury; they have several cars, for themselves, for their wives, for their children. They send their children to universities to become «Senhor Doutor» and prepare them to take their future places as managers, ministers, directors of banks, etc. Nor do they rob and exploit the Portuguese people alone: they extend their robbery to our peoples, to Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. And now that our people have decided to say ENOUGH to oppression and exploitation, they have sent YOU, Portuguese soldier, to defend FOR THEM the riches of our country.



Because in fact, what do you profit from the riches of Mozambique? Nothing. «It is the big capitalists who profit. And they do not come to fight the war — they stay in Lisbon or in Lourenco Marques in security receiving the products of exploitation, and send you to the bush where death lurks behind each tree, and in every post. Thousands of your companions have already died like that — in an ambush, on a mine, in an assault, without glory — only to safeguard the interests of the big capitalists.

«Portuguese soldier, it is time for you to rethink your position. Colonialism will not last much longer. It is already condemned throughout the whole world; the United Nations Organisation itself has declared that Portuguese colonialism is a crime against humanity. Many countries

openly criticise the Portuguese government because of its colonial policy. They are many, the countries and organisations that give us material and moral support. Thus the development of our struggle will proceed in the future at a much more accelerated rate. And if you are caught up in this struggle you will be killed by FRELIMO guerrillas. You will have died for nothing, without even the glory of having died heroically. Do you know, for example, that your government is more concerned with war material than with human lives? After the offensive he launched against FRELIMO zones last year, your commander Kaulza de Arriaga declared, when he was defeated and forced to retreat, that «the worst was the material that was destroyed, which was very expensive. The soldiers who were killed can be easily replaced.» You can see in what esteem your superiors hold you! For them you are an instrument less valuable than the rifle you are holding.

«Portuguese soldier, we do not want to influence you to take a decision. You are a man, you have a conscience, you have the capacity to make your own judgments. If you think you are doing right in fighting the colonial war, in killing our people, then continue. But if you realise that the struggle you are waging is unjust and immoral and want to put an end to it, then desert to our side. Several Portuguese soldiers have already deserted and sought refuge with FRELIMO. We can tell you their names, for example: Americo Neves de Sousa, Manuel de Jesus Santos, Manuel da Silva Lopes, Eusebio Martinho da Silva, Jose Antonio Ferreira da Mata, Jose Augusto Lopes, Luis Santos Machial and some others.

«Two others surrendered during combat.

They are Joao Borges Gomes and Fernando dos Santos Rosa. All were handed over by FRELIMO to the International Red Cross which took them under their care. Most of them wanted to go to France or Algeria to work — and they are there, free from the war, living in peace. Only one of the prisoners who was captured in the attack against the Post of Nambude in Cabo Delgado wanted to go back to Portugal. He was permitted to go back — after that we heard no more from him.

«This is our policy: to receive as our brothers, as our allies, the Portuguese soldiers who desert and who by that attitude show that they are opposed to the colonial war against our people. All Portuguese soldiers who desert from the colonial army will be welcomed by FRELIMO.»



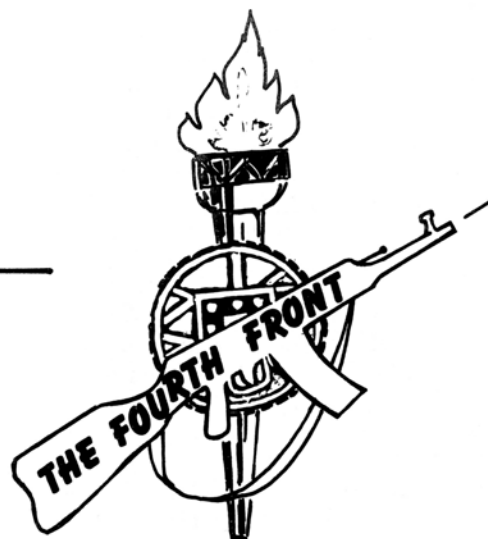
# PORTUGUESE SOLDIER IN AFRICA, LISTEN!

At the present stage of the «anti-colonial war» which is growing within Portugal itself one of the most noteworthy events has been the deserting of ten officers of the Portuguese army at the end of last year, who sought political asylum in Sweden. FRELIMO supports the courageous attitude of those officers who, facing great risks (PIDE is still strong in Portugal), knew how to say NO to the colonial war, and refused to stain their hands with the innocent blood of our people. They have addressed messages to their colleagues in Mozambique, exhorting them to follow their example. We reproduce one of these messages from an Infantry Lt., No.424793 61, Rocha de Almeida, which was broadcast (together with the messages of the others) on FRELIMO radio programme for Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique:

## PORTUGUESE SOLDIER IN AFRICA :

*It is for you that I am speaking, colleague from yesterday, comrade of tomorrow. It is for you Joaquim, who has your wife waiting for you in Portugal. It is for you, Zé, for whom your old father worked so much his whole life, receiving nothing. Look around you and what do you see: young boys like yourselves, all in the flower of youth, young people who could each be tilling his own piece of land. Who could be... but who are not. They are in the war against the «terrorists», against the «enemies of western civilisation», as your chiefs say. But what your chiefs do not say is that they are men like yourselves who have always been deceived, who have always been robbed, perhaps (who knows) by the same bosses who made your old parents work for little or no return. Friends, they are not terrorists! If they fight it is because they no longer want the law of the whip, they no longer want to see their small children dying of hunger while the white boss lives fat and rich. Like you, the Mozambican people do not like the war. Those who like the war are only the generals from Nampula, and from Lourenço Marques, – and the fat traders who sell goods to the army. But they do not go with you to the bush. By waging this war, you are contributing to the continuation of ignorance, starvation, backwardness in Mozambique, you are defending colonialism, capitalism and imperialism, enabling them to remain longer in Africa, contrary to the interests of*

*the African peoples. And contrary to YOUR own interests as well, because the same capitalists who send you to the colonial war are those who exploit and oppress you at home. How many times when talking to me have you told me that the war is not yours! It is true, and what you must do is to refuse to collaborate with murderers and to act to sabotage the war by refusing missions and, having an opportunity, by deserting. Moreover, if possible, desert in groups and with weapons. Everywhere you will be well received. The Liberation Movements of the Portuguese colonies know that you are also deceived, that the war is made not by your wish but to satisfy the interests of a Tenreiro, or a Cerejeira or of a Caetano. They know that responsibility lies only with the government of Lisbon. Now I draw the attention of the soldiers sergeants and officers of the Company of Hunters No. 2795, commanded by Captain Bastos Machado, now serving in Mozambique, and to which the Portuguese fascist government had wanted me to go. Of you in particular, my friends, I ask you never to commit acts that your conscience, as men and as Christians would disapprove. Do not allow criminal acts, which are being practised in Mozambique by Portuguese troops, to continue. So that you will not have to live your whole life with painful memories. I reaffirm my solidarity with FRELIMO and the other Liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.*



**‘I could  
not burn  
african  
villages’**

Among the deserters who are in Sweden there is also a captain who deserted in December 1970 – Jaime Morais. He participated in the great offensive in Mozambique before deserting. In Sweden he was interviewed by the newspaper ‘Aftonbladet’ about the Portuguese military situation and the results of the offensive in Mozambique:

Jaime Morais, 34, was a captain in Portugal’s colonial army in Mozambique. He had command over a troop of 166 men. «I could not obey orders to burn African villages, he says. Therefore I deserted.» Now Jaime Morais is in Sweden as a political refugee. He is the highest ranking officer who has come to Sweden as a deserter.

«The dissatisfaction with Portugal’s colonial war in Africa is increasing amongst the Portuguese troops. The critique is strongest among the officers in the reserve. But few dare to say what they think. The critics are called communists and are stopped in their careers or punished.»

This is what Jaime Morais tells Aftonbladet. He came to Sweden a month ago, after having been in Mozambique five months as a captain. «I would readily have taken part in the defence of Portugal, says Morais. But in Africa we do not

deal with defence. It is an aggressive war on innocent people who do not want our so-called civilisation.»

Jaime Morais tells that he was instructed to give his troops orders to burn villages and kill all enemies. «But the 'enemies' were the ordinary villagers,» he says.

#### SHOT A WOMAN

Last autumn several communiques from Portugal said that the colonial army in Mozambique had won great successes in an extensive campaign. «I took part in the campaign in Mozambique, Morais tells. We made no progress; we lost people. When we moved northwards, we left the rest of the country without guard. The campaign was the idea of the high commander to get a better reputation in Portugal.»

«FRELIMO has the support of the people. I once saw a soldier shoot a woman. Her little son stood nearby. That boy is going to become a good resistance fighter.»

Jaime Morais is of the opinion that Portugal already has lost the war. Portugal is poor. Half of the budget goes to the army. Yet it is not sufficient for the war in the colonies. It is the aid from South

Africa and the NATO which keeps the colonial army going.

#### U.S.A. GUNS

Morais says: «We had among other things rocket guns from USA and other weapons from South Africa. Our food also came from South Africa. When we were out on war missions, we had the support of South African helicopters. But there is a peculiar type of pride in Portugal. They don't confess that aid is necessary.» Jaime Morais was a captain in the reserve. As a civilian he was a business manager in Lisbon. When he got his special training for Africa he had instructors who had participated in anti-guerrilla courses in USA. The American experiences from Vietnam are forwarded to Portuguese officers who should retain the colonial power in Africa.

It was in protest against the colonial policy of Portugal that Jaime Morais deserted. But he says he also reacted strongly against the treatment of ordinary soldiers in the colonial army.

«Once one of my troop transport cars

was hit by a mine. Many soldiers were killed. The car was completely destroyed. The district military commander said it was a pity about the car, but that we could always replace the soldiers».

Many times Jaime Morais saw his own men being killed by FRELIMO. «But I am glad that I never killed or even captured any guerrilla soldiers, he says. And I don't accuse FRELIMO for having to kill our soldiers. The Africans must defend themselves. The government of Portugal causes damage both to Mozambique and to Portugal with this war.»

**These are then the kinds of evidence out of which an adequate picture of the «fourth front» and the drama of Portuguese resistance can be formed. There is much more of such evidence and we will return to the theme in later issues of MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION. Here we will merely reemphasize the importance of such trends and reaffirm our sense of active solidarity with the militant anti-imperialist forces in Portugal.**

**«On March 8, a commando unit of Armed Revolutionary Action (A.R.A.), planted explosives in the main hangar of the No. 3 airforce base at Tancos, destroying an entire fleet of 14 military helicopters and several training aircraft.»**

#### Central Command of A.R.A.

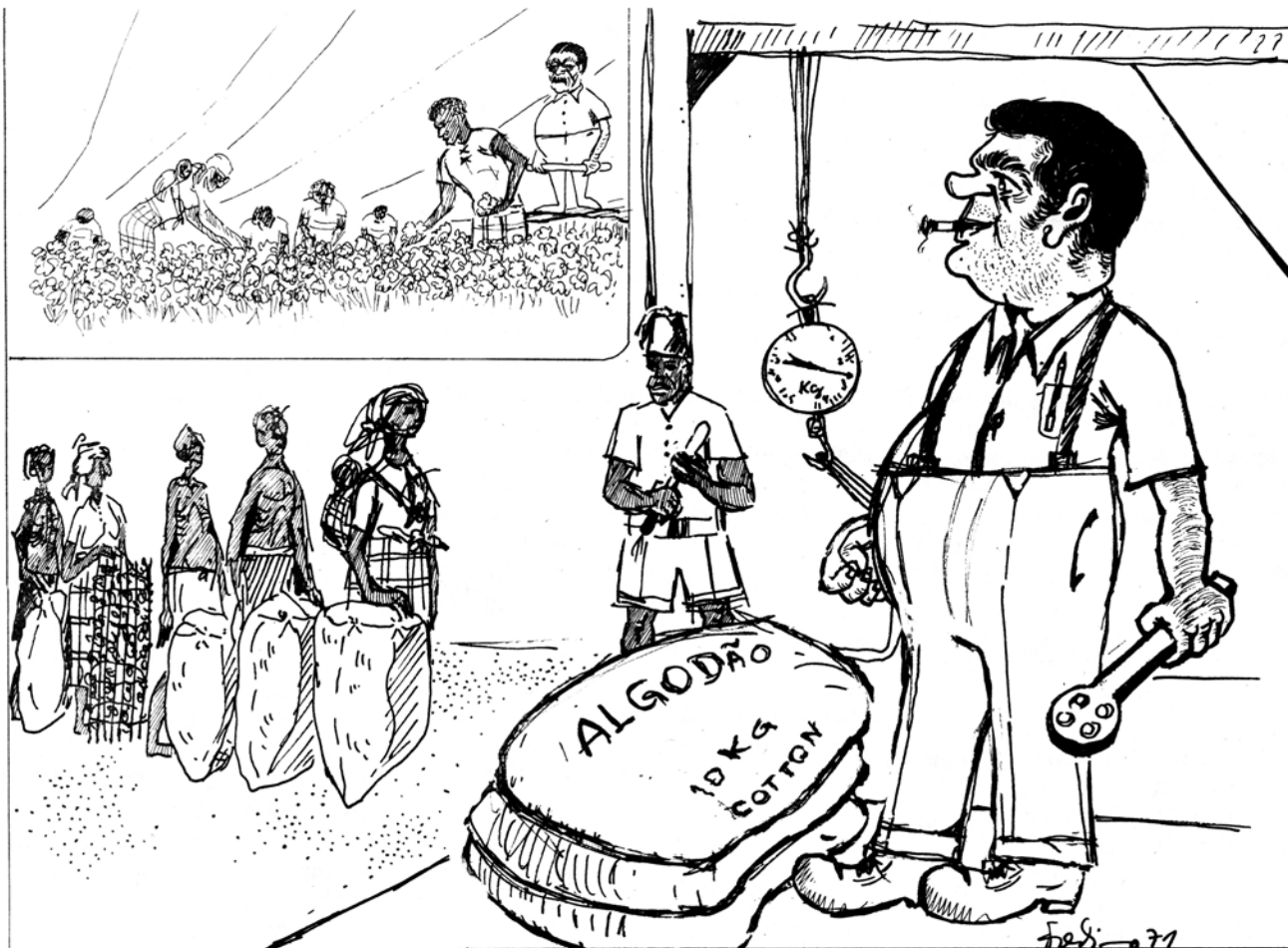
«Today at 3.30 a.m., saboteurs — baffling the guards' vigilance at Tancos Airbase — succeeded in entering the hangars and placing time-bombs; their explosion caused the destruction of some planes, while damaging others; no-one has been hurt. Military authorities immediately set up an inquiry soliciting also the collaboration of Civil Security Services.»

Communique issued by the State Secretariat of Aeronautics, Lisbon, March, 8, 1971.



An SA - 330 Helicopter — the kind destroyed by A.R.A.





## THE COTTON REGIME

«The economic organisations of the Portuguese overseas territories shall form part of the general economic organisation of the Portuguese nation and shall thereby take its place in the world economy.

It is «for metropolitan Portugal to secure, through measures taken by the competent bodies, a proper balance in the interests which... should be considered as a whole, in the economic systems of the overseas territories.»

The above quotes from the Portuguese Constitution leave little doubt as to the nature of the role assigned to the colonies in the economic structures of the Portuguese Empire. Portugal and Portuguese needs and desires were to be the focal point around which the economies of the overseas territories were to be organised. Such a situation is by no means new or unique - and is not to be confined to colonial regimes. Colonial exploitation is but one manifestation of the same principles of class domination and class subjugation that underlie the whole capitalist system. However, there are many different faces of capitalism, each with its own mode of operation. Through an account of the cotton regime we hope to demonstrate those particular features of Portuguese colonialism.

The notion that colonies exist to serve the mother country is taken for granted. In 1936 at the inaugural session of the Economic Conference of the Portuguese Colonial Empire Prime Minister Salazar said that it was a logical solution to

Portugal's problem of overpopulation to settle nationals in the colonies and «for the colonies to produce raw materials to sell to the mother country in exchange for manufactured goods». The method of achieving this aim was characterised by three features:

1. The Portuguese theory and practice of the corporate State;
2. A labour policy concerned primarily with securing adequate labour for European-operated agricultural activities;
3. The practice of granting huge tracts of land as concessions with far-reaching powers to commercial companies.

### A) THE CORPORATIVE STATE

The essential premise of the corporative state is considered responsible for the overall co-ordination and regulation of economic and social life in the country, which it does through numerous corporate collective organisations of people engaged in different sectors of economic activity. They range from local geographically-based groups of farmers, fishermen, etc. to national bodies of producers, processors, manufacturers, etc. in each branch of production, all of which regulate the activities of their sector in accordance with what the government determines the «interest of the nation» to be. Thus the government intervenes in all

economic activities, setting quotas, prices, etc., through the corporate bodies and also various co-ordinating bodies: «regulatory commissions» which control imports, prices and distribution; «national boards» to improve production and stimulate exports; «institutes» to co-ordinate activities in relation to exports.

Although there is not yet such corporate structure in the close integration into the economy of Portugal. Whenever a specific crop is considered of particular importance, it is immediately subjected to detailed regulation and control of all aspects of production, marketing, processing, etc., through the establishment of specific boards to deal with them. These were the Coffee, Cotton, and Cereals Export Boards in 1938 and, because of the crops' particular significance to domestic Portuguese industry, the Regulatory Commission for Trade in Raw Cotton in 1937.

The latter was established to control the import of cotton into Portugal and to ensure that all the cotton from the overseas territories was marketed, if necessary by compulsory distribution on a quota basis at fixed prices. The colonial Cotton Export Board was established to regulate exports from the territories and ensure supplies to Portugal again by quotas and prices and also registration of European producers and regulating internal markets within the colonies and to generally promote the production of cotton and improvements in quality and quantity. Quite simple, these bodies were established to ensure that Portugal's needs for cheap cotton were met, a fact further confirmed by a glance at their composition - ministerial representatives, cotton importers, textile industry, dealers and overseas concessionary companies.

## B) THE AFRICAN'S OBLIGATION TO WORK

The obligation of the African population to undertake «work» recognised as such by the authorities was spelt out in various items of the legislation. The 1928 Native Labour Code, for example, refers to «ensure the natives of its colonies full liberty to choose the work which suits them best» and «the Government shall reserve to itself the right to encourage them to work», and the 1923 Native Statute to the necessity to «teach the natives that work is an indispensable element of progress». Without referring to a specific legal obligation, the implications are stated clearly enough here and elsewhere to enable the enforcement of the duty to work in a variety of ways.

In Mozambique every able-bodied indigenous person between 18 and 55 had to prove that he «lived by his own work» in order to avoid being compelled to labour on public works. He could do this by working voluntarily for the state for a minimum period during the year, or by being classified as an «African farmer» - although simple traditional subsistence farming was not considered proof of «living by his own work» and there were strict qualifications for registration, covering quality of cultivation, residential requirements, behaviour, etc. There was thus absolutely no way in which an African could beat the system and either way the government got its labour. A man had to earn cash to pay his taxes; if he had no money for his taxes he was compelled to undertake forced labour. He could only obtain exemption from the latter if he was already labouring «voluntarily» or undertaking cultivation according to strict government regulations.

The final option open to an African wishing to avoid forced labour was by participating in one of the government settlement schemes (which were so scarce as to only affect a minute proportion of the population) or a government production scheme - of which the cotton regime was one, itself one of the most pernicious systems of forced labour.

## C) THE CONCESSIONS SYSTEM

This was the modern variant of the old colonial system of control in the colonies by delegating governmental powers over huge areas of the country to feudal landlords as in the *prazo* system, or later to commercial concerns such as the chartered companies. It entailed the granting or purchasing monopolies over certain crops to concessionary companies who supervised the growers with considerable powers in their designated areas.

### HOW THE COTTON REGIME WORKS

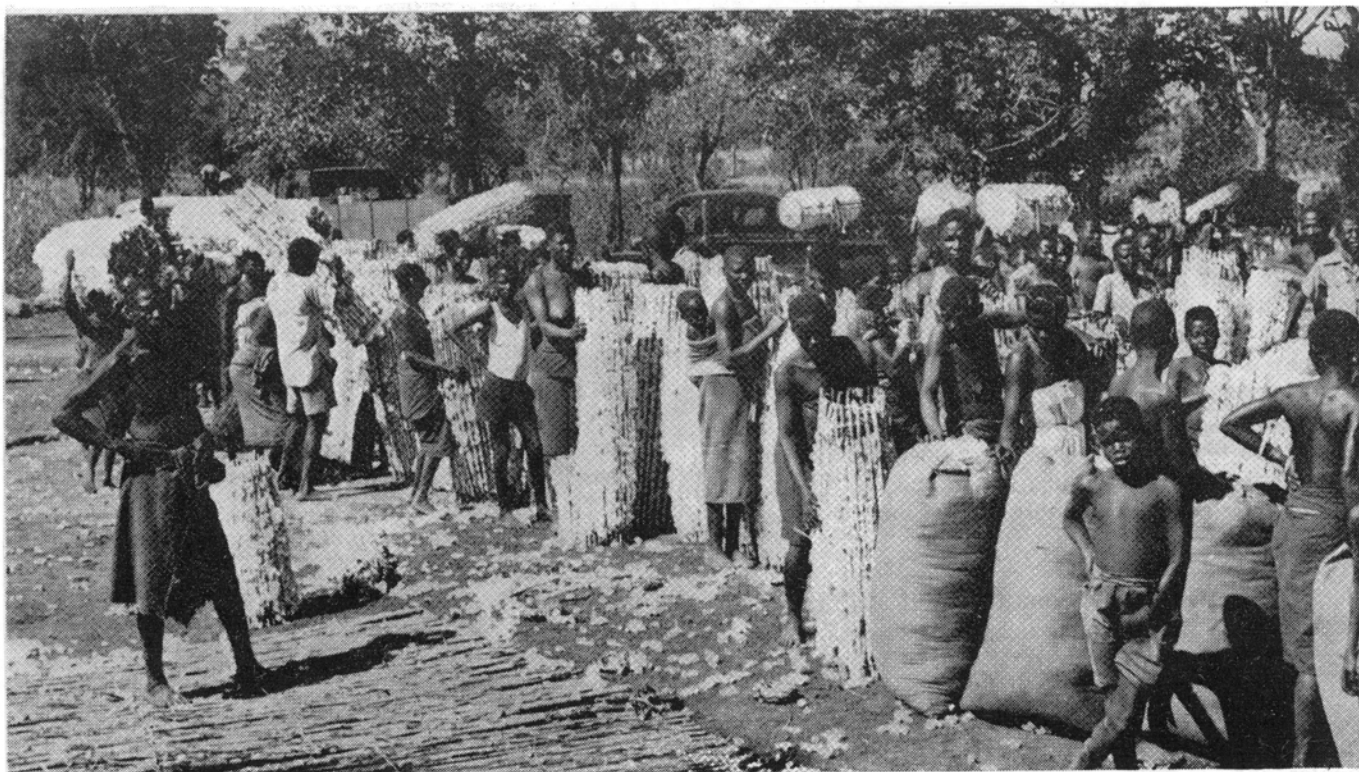
Originally the Portuguese textile industry relied on Brazil and the United States for its supplies of raw cotton. However, after the first World War, this heavy reliance on foreign sources of supply, together with the growing volume of cotton imports and rising world prices, added substantially to Portugal's balance of payments difficulties. In 1925, of Portugal's requirements of 17,000 tons of raw cotton only 800 tons were supplied by Angola and Mozambique - involving a yearly outflow of about 150 million escudos in foreign exchange. In order to cope with this situation, in 1926 a system of forced cotton cultivation was introduced in Angola and Mozambique with the declared intention of achieving within the shortest possible time self-sufficiency of the escudo area in regard to cotton supplies. This was done by developing cotton growing as the principal African activity in selected regions through the efforts of commercial entrepreneurs and supported by territorial administration.

Cotton became an obligatory crop for Africans living in areas designated as cotton growing, and purchases of their crop were restricted to licensed buyers. For each «cotton factory» a licensee possessed he was given the exclusive right to purchase all African-grown cotton within a zone of 50 kms., later increased to 120 kms. As there was no limit to the number of factories and zones held by any one company certain large companies acquired large areas under their control - such as the Cia dos Algodoes de Moçambique, for example, with a monopoly in 23 zones covering half the area of the districts of Zambezia and Moçambique; which in 1960 purchased one third of the total African crop. The Sociedade Agricola Algodreira controlled the whole of Cabo Delgado.

Africans could only sell their cotton to licensed buyers at supervised markets, i.e. the concessionary factory or its agents. Prices were fixed annually by the Governor «so that the cotton shall sell on European markets at prices not higher than cotton produced in the neighbouring colonies.»

The success of the regime of course depended completely on inducing the Africans to grow cotton. This was achieved by concerted action on the part of the territorial authorities, including local administrators and puppet chiefs through





**Peasants bringing in the cotton that props up Portugal's economy**

propaganda, distribution of seeds, technical assistance and «by such other means as may be appropriate». In concessionary zones this work was undertaken by the agents of the factories, who held official status, in collaboration with the local administration. These agents also had the principal role of determining what land should be devoted to cotton, and how it should be cultivated, the local administration and chiefs having responsibility to supervise the growers, observe compliance with the regulations etc.

#### **MOZAMBIQUE : COTTON CONCESSIONARY COMPANIES IN 1960**

Company	District
Algodeira do Sul de Save, Lda.	Gaza and Inhambane
Cia do Buzi, S.A.R.L.	Manica e Sofala
Cia Nacional Algodeira	Manica e Sofala
Cia da Zambesia, S.A.R.L.	Tete (one zone)
Sociedade Algodeira de Tete, Lda.	Tete
Cia Agricola E Comercial Lopes e Irmaos	Zambezia (one zone)
Sena Sugar Estates Ltd.	Zambezia (two zones)
Monteiro e Giro Lda.	Zambezia (two zones)
Cia dos Algodoes de Moçambique	Moçambique; Cabo Delgado; Zambezia
Coa Agricola e Comercial Joao Ferreira dos Santos	Moçambique (six zones)
Sociedade Algodeira de Niassa	Niassa and Moçambique (five zones)
Sociedade Agricola Algodeira	Cabo Delgado and Niassa (ten Zones)

Despite this tremendous effort, however, at first the new regime did not produce the expected increase in output and after a brief initial upsurge the supply of cotton to

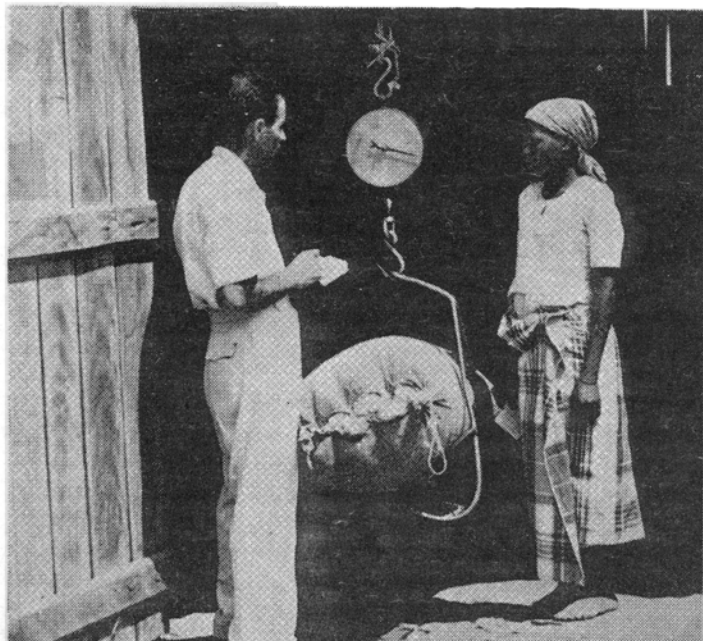
Portugal's textile industry declined again until by 1931 it had returned to about the same level as 1925. To further stimulate production, a decree in 1932 instituted a bounty payable to exporters of all colonial cotton shipped to Portugal prohibited the recruitment of Africans in the cotton zones for work outside, and required the administrative authorities to «devote persistent efforts» to achieve the maximum development of cotton cultivation. Although the metropolitan legislation did not contain any specific mention of compulsion (although a decree in 1955 stated «the improvement of methods of production continues to be an essential obligation of all entities concerned with cultivation, it now being permissible to establish compulsory programmes»), there were certain local enactments such as the 1948 «general instructions» (Basas para a Campanha Algodeira) in Mozambique.

These stated that able-bodied African males between 18 and 55 were designated as cotton farmers and were each expected to cultivate one hectare of cotton, increased by one half hectare for each wife after the first, plus an equal area of food crops. Single women, if able-bodied and between 18 and 45, and men between 56 and 60 were called cotton cultivators and were expected to cultivate one half hectare each of cotton and food crops.

From the early thirties the Portuguese textile industry never looked back. Between 1932 and 1937 supplies to Portugal increased nearly six-fold, accounting in the latter year for 36.6 per cent of the country's cotton imports even though these had nearly doubled during the period. The regulatory bodies, mentioned earlier, were established to centralise control of imports, marketing, prices, licenses, etc. Between 1937 and 1946 cotton production in Angola and Mozambique more than doubled although owing to a progressive increase in consumption it still only accounted for 65 per cent of Portugal's cotton imports. Up to 1936 seed cotton production in Mozambique rarely exceeded 4,000 tons per year, from 1936 to 1940 average yearly output rose to just under 20,000 tons, and in 1941 it increased drastically to 51,000 tons and thereafter

continued to increase, apart from bad crop years, as shown in the table. Needless to say this tremendous output was only achieved at the expense of considerable hardship to the African growers, who reached a peak of 791,000 in 1944 (this was only the registered growers and probably grossly understated the actual number of Africans, including children, who were involved). The heavy pressures to which the African population were subjected can be inferred from the obligation on local administrative authorities to develop cotton growing, to supervise its cultivation by Africans and to assist the concessionaires. Forced to devote all their energies towards producing their full quota of cotton, food crops had to be neglected resulting in widespread food shortages throughout the country, culminating in famine in the north, where cotton was most extensively cultivated. There was absolutely no way that an African could escape from his misery since the Native Statute said he had the obligation to work and pay taxes. Within these zones cotton was the prescribed cash crop a farmer could be deprived of his land if he failed to cultivate it as required by the Government. The prohibition on the recruitment of Africans for work outside the cotton zones meant they could not move around to find any alternative means of livelihood. So powerful were the large companies that they had a pretty free hand in the methods used to increase output regardless of the human and social consequences. For example, in addition to crude physical intimidation, they were driven to cultivate marginally suitable land with the result that output and hence income were exceedingly low no matter how much work was applied.

Witnesses before the 1961 ILO Commission testified that although cotton only did well on certain types of land it quickly exhausted the land; little fertilizer was used and thus in some areas two years was the maximum time a plot could be used for cotton without rest. Because of this people who began by cultivating near their villages ended up after a few years many miles away where the supply of food and water might be difficult. Africans caught in this system, whenever possible, divided their family leaving some to look after livestock and cassava while others cultivated cotton at a distance. They also described how local officials would come with **sepoys and overseers to compel the people to grow cotton**



Colonialist weighs a peasant's cotton

and they were beaten if they disobeyed or eased up on their work. Arbitrary penalties were imposed on people found tilling crops other than cotton, since by law it was only women who were allowed to do this kind of tilling, and then for only a limited number of hours per day.

They also spoke of the great power of the larger concessionary companies and how the growers could be cheated by dishonest weights or just by officials paying what they chose to, as no one could argue with them. The chefs de posto attended the cotton market but appeared to accept these practices and even to participate in them. Certainly even the official price of cotton was a meagre amount.

#### Average official prices of seed cotton in Mozambique

Year	Escudos per Kilogram	
	1st Grade	2nd Grade
1947-48	1.50	1.10
1949-50	1.80	1.40
1951-55	2.70	2.00
1956-60	3.00	2.30
1961	3.60	2.20

BRAVO estimates that the average yearly income from cotton of African growers was 634 escudos (\$22 in 1961), Marvin Harris (Portugal's African Wards, New York, 1958) estimated an annual income of \$11.17 in 1956. This is how one person who grew up under this system in Mozambique described the life:

#### *RITA MULUMBUA (Niassa Province):*

*«My parents are peasants. In our land we grew cassava, beans and maize. We also grew cotton which we sold to a company. We sold a bag of cotton for from between 25 escudos (\$00.90) to 50 escudos (\$ 1.80), depending on the quality and the year. In a good year my father must have sold 10 bags. He paid 195 escudos (\$ 7.00) tax. I worked in the fields growing cotton. We didn't want cotton but we had to grow it: we wanted to grow cassava, beans and maize. If we refused to grow cotton they arrested us, put us in chains, beat us and then sent us to a place from where one often didn't come back. When I was a child I knew Chief Navativa: they arrested him and he hasn't been seen since».*

*(FRELIMO interview reported in «The Struggle for Mozambique» by Eduardo Mondlane.)*

Realising that starving peasants can hardly work at their most productive, in the mid-forties efforts were made to eliminate the marginal areas and concentrate on increasing yields on the better land. The Cotton Export Board assumed a more supervisory role than hitherto and the concessions had to supervise the growing of food crops in rotation with cotton. «Welfare» programmes were to be introduced for Africans in the cotton zones in order to ultimately increase their output, although they were obliged to pay for these by the imposition of two new taxes.



As a result of these measures the number of cotton growers in Mozambique diminished considerably, although output continued to rise. As is shown below, in 1960, a year of peak production, there were 529,000 African growers cultivating an area of 297,000 hectares, i.e. only 37,000 hectares more than in 1944. Their combined output of seed cotton was however more than double the earlier figure.

By 1953 the colonies were producing more than Portugal required of their cotton and it was possible to start exporting elsewhere, although this was restricted by regulations about supplying Portugal's needs first still at fixed prices, taking into account «a just remuneration for the producers and industrialists, the degree of reorganisation in the national industry» and the shipping costs. Cotton exported elsewhere was at free market rates and subject to higher export duties which were likewise levied on supplies to local textile manufacturers. A further levy was also placed on the latter two categories for a cotton development fund, thus increasing even further the price differential between them and cotton supplied to Portugal under quota.

Production Volume			Area cultivated		No. of growers
Year	Thousand tons	Value Million esc.	Thousand ha.	Thousands	
1941-50a	64.6	89.3	261	613	
1950-55a	99.6	262.8	266	504	
1956	65.2	182.6	293	518	
1957	108.2	309.5	300	513	
1958	91.5	260.2	301	516	
1959	134.9	393.6	312	536	
1960	139.7	405.2	297	529	
1961	110.1	379.9	...	...	
1962	120.0	...	...	...	

a — yearly average

Source: Cotton Export Board and Estatística Agrícola

## LOCAL TEXTILE PRODUCTION

Since the purpose of the cotton regime was to furnish the metropolitan mills, and the colonies were important markets for Portuguese textiles, the development of a local industry in the colonies was for a long time prohibited. The restrictions gradually began to be eased by about 1944, although the output was still curtailed to protect the metropolitan industry — for example output could not exceed the difference in weight between the territory's average annual import of cotton textiles during 1936 - 38 and the same average plus 20 per cent of cotton textiles imported from Portugal. It was openly admitted that one of the considerations underlying the decree was that it would assist the modernisation of the metropolitan industry by permitting the transfer of existing equipment to the overseas territories. As yet a further protective measure, the local price of cotton was to be the same as that paid in Portugal, and consequently even in 1964 textiles worth 334 million escudos were still the second most important territorial import, the vast majority coming from Portugal.

## «METROPOLITAN» TEXTILE PRODUCTION

The «success» of the cotton regime can easily be gauged from the dramatic growth of the textile industry in Portugal. Its average cotton consumption in 1923-31 was only 17,000 tons, in 1942-45 it averaged 24,000 tons, by 1964 it had increased to nearly 77,000 tons. Supplies from the colonies were crucial in this development for two main reasons. Firstly they reduced the demand for foreign exchange especially in the crucial period after the second World War when prices were high. Between 1946 and 1955 about 87 per cent of Portugal's cotton requirements were supplied by the territories under the compulsory export quota scheme. After 1956, when world supplies increased and prices declined, Portugal was able to expand consumption by turning to foreign sources, and the percentage of imports from the colonies gradually declined. Second, by fixing prices below those obtaining for cotton imported from other countries, Portugal was able to reorganise and re-equip her textile industry. According to figures published by the Regulatory Commission for Trade in Raw Cotton

the average price c.i.f. Portugal of cotton imported from Mozambique during the years 1947-48 1954-55 was 14.08 escudos per kilo, whereas the same cotton, if sold at international prices, would have fetched an average of 27.12 escudos. According to Bravo («A Cultura Algodoeira na Economia do Norte de Moçambique», Lisbon 1963, the cotton supplied to Portugal from the overseas territories in 1955, if sold at international prices, would have brought in an additional 400 million escudos or 68 per cent more than it fetched under the official quota prices.

## POSTSCRIPT

After 1961, apparently as the result of international pressure over the slave conditions of the cotton regime, legislation was introduced to eliminate the worst excesses by ending compulsory cultivation and providing for the gradual abolition of the concessions. The Cotton Institute (a corporate body that replaced the Cotton Export Board) took over the responsibility of supervising cultivation and the right to purchase

cotton was to be allocated by competitive bidding to the licensed dealer who undertook to pay the highest price above the government minima.

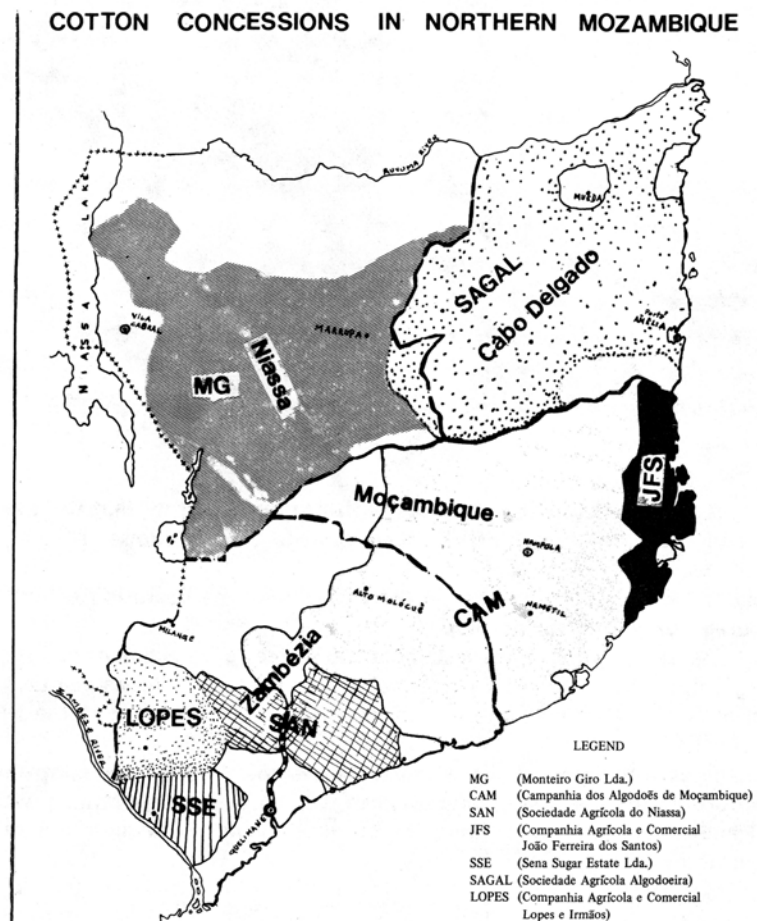
This has been misinterpreted by many observers as a positive element of liberalisation of Portuguese colonialism. In fact, however, the conditions endured by the African population have changed very little and the measures taken in the early sixties were completely in keeping with the policies to be pursued in the years to follow.

The fact that the abolition of the cotton regime occurred at the time of the ILO report may indeed have been purely coincidental. Portugal has paid little attention to international opinion either before or since, which indicates that they would be unlikely to take such a step unless it fitted in with their own plans. A fact that has often been overlooked is that the abolition of the cotton regime also coincided with the growing unrest among the African population which had culminated in the formation of three resistance groups in neighbouring countries and was brought home rather more drastically by the 1961 uprising in Angola. Countries elsewhere in Africa were gradually attaining their independence and it must have been obvious to the Portuguese that pressures on their repressive government, both from within and from outside, would steadily mount. In the light of these developments the abolition of the worst and most apparent abuses were merely stop-gap measures to remove the most immediate cause of discontent, while they tackled the more long-term questions of security - of the vital raw materials need for Portuguese industry and consequently also of the actual presence in the colonies.

To this end they have applied a two-pronged strategy - the promotion of settlement schemes (of Africans to facilitate their administration but more particularly of European immigrants and the active encouragement of capital investments in the overseas territories. Developments in cotton and other agricultural production during the sixties are just one manifestation of these policies. Emphasis is now being placed on the development of capital-intensive non-African farming through settlements and plantations and the integration of the growing and processing stages. The Cotton Institute, for example is playing a key role in establishing cotton as a European cash crop by the establishment of a number of different settlement schemes. The Third National Development Plan includes production targets that entail bringing new areas of land under cultivation by African and European settlements, with Africans to produce mainly maize, Europeans cotton and wheat. Of the 15 per cent of total investments that will be allocated to agriculture, 11.8 per cent will go to «irrigation and settlements» and only 3.2 per cent agricultural development.

In 1966, two out of nine former concessionary companies still active as dealers and ginnery operators adopted new statutes permitting them to become growers and industrialists. After the relaxation of regulations covering the establishment of a local textile industry, former concessionary companies started to get licenses to build mills.

In the past years cotton production declined considerably, as a result of FRELIMO control over Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces and the revision of the cotton regime. Suffice to say that the cotton output for 1970 was 40,000 tons, while in 1960, for example, production was about 140,000 tons.





# Josina Abiatar Machel



The Executive Committee of FRELIMO announces with profound sorrow that Comrade Josina Abiatar Machel, wife of the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, died on April 7, 1971, from illness. She was 25 years old.

Comrade Josina Abiatar Machel was a militant in the struggle for the liberation of our country, always dedicated, courageous and never faltering.

A fighter in the front line, she was one of the leaders of the Women's Detachment of FRELIMO — the women's fighting corps of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique. She was Head of the Section of Social Affairs and was responsible for External Affairs in the FRELIMO Women's Section.

The example of her life as a militant of the Mozambican Revolution and the contribution she made, particularly in promoting the role of Mozambican women will always remain with us and will be a guide and encouragement to continue the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism until final victory.

8th April, 1971.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF FRELIMO



